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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1830

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

SOVIET INTERVENTION FEARED--High-level French military officers fear that the Soviets will intervene in Poland before the end of October. [Text] [Paris LE POINT in French 29 Sep 80 p 49]

SOVIET 'PREPARATION' SEEN--According to Berlin sources, the Soviets are said to be making the necessary military preparations for a future military intervention in Poland which the majority of observers, however, do not believe will occur in the near future. [Text] [Paris LE POINT in French 27 Oct 80 p 66]

CSO: 3100

CONSERVATIVE ATTITUDE IN ADMITTING WOMEN TO PARTY ATTACKED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 18 Sep 80 p 2

[Article by Agron Lekdushi, worker in the apparatus of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party: "Bringing New Blood Into the Party and the Struggle Against Sectarianism"]

[Excerpts] A secretary of the basic party organization in the "21 December" construction enterprise in Tirana, when discussing the fact that admissions to the party were not going well in his organization, said, as an excuse, "there are no elements with the qualities required by the party in our sector." Other opinions of this nature can be found. These create obstacles in some basic party organizations for young and necessary elements to enter these groups. The petit-bourgeois concepts and practices manifested and held by some communists nurture sectarianism. One of these concepts is lack of confidence in young elements. This happens where communists overestimate their experience and seniority in party work. Actually, the various organizations need new blood and their leadership is not up to the level of the requirements of the party at the present time.

Patriarchal family concepts also nurture sectarianism in some cases. There are some cases where relatives are admitted to the party so they can take control in basic organizations. These cases have been criticized and strongly combated by the party organs in the districts and basic organizations where they have appeared. The necessary organizational measures have been taken and educational work has been done to explain the ideological sources of these manifestations and their danger. Concrete duties have been assigned to communists who have such concepts. But this attention and concern should not be relaxed; it must be constantly increased.

Underestimating concepts in regard to women are also nurtured by sectarianism intertwined with conservatism. There are some basic party organizations who know the strength of the women but, when it is time to accept the most outstanding women into the party, show lack of confidence in their abilities as political militants of the party line and as social activists. For example, the basic organization of the clothing enterprise in Elbasan, although the majority of the workers are women, does not admit them as party members.

The causes of sectarianism are both ideological and social. The patriarchal attitude of some male communist comrades is present whenever there is lack of confidence in female comrades. The forms of the manifestations of sectarianism

and conservatism are varied. Sometimes they appear as "concern for protecting female comrades as mothers since they are very busy," sometimes they say, openly, "they do not perform their jobs."

As a result, only 20 and 30 percent of the young people admitted to the party in Tropoje and Elbasan districts, respectively, during the first half of this year were young women. Shortcomings of this nature also exist in Durres, Kruje and other districts.

This matter must be raised to the highest level of work of the basic party organizations and must be combated on the two fronts: The struggle against manifestations of liberalism and against manifestations of sectarianism, manifestations and attitudes which seek to close the doors of the party to those who deserve party membership.

CSO: 2100

ALBANIA

ATTEMPT OF 'TRAITORS' TO UNDERMINE UNITY AT PEZE RECALLED

Tirana BASHKIMI in Albania 15 Sep 80 pp 1, 3

[Editorial article by Xhorxhi Robo: "The Peze Conference--An Event of Great Historic Importance"]

[Excerpts] At the initiative of the Communist Party of Albania, the Albanian National Liberation Conference was held in Peze on 16 September 1942, marking an event of extraordinary great importance for the future of the country. The Peze Conference was held a few months after the establishment of the Albanian Communist Party. The situation in the country was very serious. The fascist occupiers were trying to maintain their hated system by means of arms. The Anti-Fascist National-Liberation Struggle, under the leadership of the party, was beginning to take on a broader character.

In this situation when the enemy was gathering its forces to act, by all means, against the party and the Anti-Fascist National-Liberation Struggle, the Albanian Communist Party prepared its platform of the militant unity of the Albanian people in a single anti-fascist front. This unity was the key link which would assure the execution of the great tasks of the struggle against the occupiers and traitors. The bases of this unity were cast in the anti-fascist stand but this had not yet developed as it should have. It had to be placed on the appropriate political and organizational bases. For this purpose, the Central Committee of the Albanian Communist Party decided to convoke a national-liberation conference at the national level. In addition to the Communist Party, various currents of Albanian nationalists would be represented in order to unite the people in a single National-Liberation Front, to approve the political platform of this Front and to set forth appropriate forms for organizing the revolutionary people.

during the proceedings of the conference, the traitor Abaz Kupa and someone else who called himself a nationalist did not dare to openly oppose the leading role of the Albanian Communist Party but tried to prevent a further increase in its authority. They proposed that the cells should not be called "partisans" and that they should not display the red star, etc. Their aim was to undermine the Front and the program of the party so they set forth the idea that the youth should not take part in the struggle saying that the youth "is the future of the country" and that they "do not have the maturity for serious work." They set forth these hostile ideas to weaken the Front, excluding from it the largest part of the members of the various partisan units and of the National-Liberation Army.

SOCIALIST INTERNATIONALISM REASSERTED AS GOVERNING PRINCIPLE FOR BLOC

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 147, 29 Sep 80 p 2

[Report from Berlin: "East Berlin Defends 'Brezhnev Doctrine.'" A translation of the East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ article cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] The East Berlin journal NEUE JUSTIZ [No 9, 1980] emphatically defended the principle of "socialist internationalism" (known simply as the 'Brezhnev Doctrine' in the West) in the relations of socialist countries with one another. The sovereignty of the socialist countries cannot be considered separately from the principle of socialist internationalism. Functionally socialist sovereignty is not characterized as separation from other socialist countries, but rather "by the organization of socialist international cooperation and mutual assistance." The protection of the sovereignty of the socialist state is "consequently not only its own concern, but is also incumbent on the entire socialist community."

Sovereignty Secondary to Cooperation

East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ in German Vol 34 No 9, Sep 80 pp 395-398

[Article by Prof Dr Bernhard Graefrath, Jurisprudence Section, Humboldt University, East Berlin: "On the New Quality of the Sovereignty Principle"]

[Text] In addition to the right of peoples to self-determination, questions of the sovereignty of countries occupy a central place in coming to terms with the bourgeois doctrine of international law.¹ This is related to the fact that the influence of democratic forces on international relations is steadily growing and general international law is being developed increasingly more clearly as a universal international legal system which builds on the right of peoples to self-determination and on the principle of the sovereign equality of countries.

To a substantial degree ideological discussions of sovereignty are a reflex of the collision of opposing ownership structures and thus of different class interests in international relations. Almost without exception bourgeois specialists in international law proceed on the basis that advancing economic, scientific and technical internationalization will result in a breakup of sovereignty. They maintain that sovereignty stands in the way of this process, than an unsolvable contradiction exists between the advancing level of organization of international society and state

sovereignty. They attempt to overcome this contradiction by models of world states and world law, or they develop conceptions of a system of international law which integrates socialist countries and the young national states into the system of bourgeois international law. In the process, a "world government," an international legislature or the inflation of international organizations as functional international administrative organs are promoted on the one hand as instruments. On the other hand, individuals and international monopolies are declared subjects of international law and thus removed from national jurisdiction; at the same time the country's immunity in important sectors is diminished and an international protection mechanism for private capital is established.

It is obvious here that we are not dealing with theoretical children's games. Under current international conditions these conceptions are in the interest of guaranteeing and developing monopolism as compared with peoples' right of self-determination. This explains the apparent contradiction of strengthening international central authorities in respect to the individual country with simultaneous strengthening of party autonomy for the organizational forms of monopolism. The bourgeois doctrine of international law is not opposed to sovereignty per se, but rather is against any kind of sovereignty which is understood to be an expression of peoples' right of self-determination and which can take effect within this meaning.

In the models provided by bourgeois theoreticians the sovereignty principle does not have the function of guaranteeing equal and peaceful international cooperation between countries on the basis of peoples' right of self-determination. Rather, it is integrated into a regulatory system whose function consists in guaranteeing, under the conditions of contemporary social and scientific-technical development, the international development of monopolism. The process of internationalization is understood and shaped as a process of internationalizing capital and its forms of movement. Bourgeois theoreticians attempt to combine an international guarantee of private ownership and the guarantee of its freedom of movement with political power mechanisms as compared with unusual interference in the market which originates with the working class, the socialist countries and the peoples struggling to reinforce their independence.

In the ideological coming to terms with these conceptions it is essential, in my opinion, to work out the new quality of the principle of sovereign equality of countries in the system of international law and to make its new legal manifestations much more visible. In this I am obviously assuming that "absolute" sovereignty (for example, with the consequence of a "right" to war) is incompatible with present international law² and that the substance of the sovereignty principle cannot be limited to delimiting varying national power, although it continues to exercise this function.

Sovereignty Principle in Relations Between Socialist Countries

The new quality of the sovereignty principle is most clearly reflected in the relations relating to international law of socialist countries among themselves. "Sovereignty of socialist countries is, according to its sociopolitical content, the sovereignty of the guiding force of socialist society, the working class, which, with its allies, holds and exercises the state's power. As a result, its essence is determined by the international character of the historical mission of the working class and its exercise of power."³ Socialist state power, which--unlike capitalist state power--

is not a patron saint of the uninterrupted development of private ownership, but rather is the organizer of social production based on socialist ownership of production means, can and must also in relations with other socialist countries, which exercise a similar function, play a different role than in relations with capitalist countries.

In respect to content, the sovereignty principle in relations between socialist countries is not restricted to peaceful international cooperation. By resting on like political and economic bases and accepting the international element of the working class it goes beyond that. It is oriented toward solidifying friendly relations for the benefit of the socialist countries, their people and the socialist community of states and toward implementing the necessary process of further reconciliation and growing together of socialist countries and nations.

Socialist internationalism as a constitutional principle of every individual socialist state⁴ is at the same time the fundamental principle of relations relating to international law of socialist states among themselves. It combines the various manifestations of socialist state power which are consonant with concrete historical and national conditions. The sovereignty of socialist countries cannot be considered separately from the principle of socialist internationalism: joint international action in the struggle against imperialism, joint defense of socialism, joint help in establishing a socialist world economy and the constant reconciliation of socialist nations are part of the essential tasks of every socialist state, they are essential features of its sovereignty.

Socialist sovereignty--although an expression of political independence and territorial integrity--is functionally not characterized as separation from other socialist countries, but rather by the organization of socialist international cooperation and mutual assistance. The protection of the sovereignty of a socialist state is consequently not only its own concern, but is also incumbent on the entire socialist community.⁵ This is stated in Article 5 of the Warsaw Pact, 14 May 1955, and of course in the treaties between the socialist countries concerning friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance.⁶

Cooperation between fraternal socialist states is realized in a variety of ways, and in particular through agreements relating to international law and with the help of socialist international organizations. Thus, with the 29 July 1971 comprehensive program for further deepening and perfection of cooperation and development of the socialist economic integration of the CEMA member countries, which is aimed at a systematic development of the socialist world market and the socialist community of states within the context of CEMA, cooperation has acquired a long-term definition with respect to substance.

Duty of Peaceful International Cooperation

As the UN declaration of 24 October 1970⁷ concerning the principle of international law, in respect to friendly relations and cooperation between countries in accordance with the UN Charter, and the 1 August 1975⁸ definition of the principle of sovereign equality in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference concerning Security and Cooperation in Europe show, a positive definition of the sovereignty principle in respect to substance has been achieved in international law. The duty of peaceful international cooperation has been accepted as a determining element in the definition of sovereign equality.⁹ Thus, it is unfounded to distinguish between an

international law of coexistence and an international law of cooperation, to set them in opposition to one another and to join the international law of cooperation with extensive renunciation of sovereignty, or to orient cooperation along the model of the so-called EC, as is frequently attempted in bourgeois writings.¹⁰

Extensive studies are not needed in order to determine that the existence of sovereign countries is today no longer conceivable without the obligation for peaceful cooperation. A model of sovereignty, which is reduced to the bourgeois notion of *laissez-faire*, contradicts current international law and is in practice no longer possible. It could not be made compatible with the prohibition on the use of threat or force (Article 2, No 4 of the UN Charter) nor with peoples' right of self-determination. In spite of distortion by imperialism, today the common interests of peoples in international relations are becoming increasingly clearer. In international law, controls that are new in respect to substance, are opposed to the individualistic bourgeois way of thinking and regulation and are aimed at realizing common goals reflect this. They do not restrict the sovereignty of the countries, rather they make possible its equitable application. Some examples of this:

The Open Sea (High Seas) was treated in bourgeois legal thinking basically either as the property of individual countries or as "ownerless property" (*res nullius*). The freedom of the sea guaranteed everyone the right to do on the sea anything and everything that he wanted. The idea that actually no further control was needed was quickly shown to be an illusion. The 29 April 1958 Convention on the Open Sea¹¹ restricted itself to identifying the freedoms in one article. All other articles, however, and many special conventions contain detailed rules which carefully control and limit the use of these freedoms. A steady stream of new conventions has become necessary in order to make use possible at all. The lack of any regulation that protects the individual country has resulted in the fact that, according to the capitalist principle of the free market economy, the economically strong powers practically monopolized use, that is, they exclude all others from enjoyment of the freedom. The efforts for new regulation of the Law of the Sea¹² were triggered by young national states precisely as a reaction to the destructive effects of the free market economy. Expansion of territorial waters and the establishment of an economic zone of 200 nautical miles are basically an attempt to counter exploitation by foreign monopolies.

As in the case of natural resources generally, sovereignty here is not really being insisted upon in order to organize equal international cooperation and to avoid letting the Open Sea become, under the pretense of "freedom for all," the object of monopolistic exploitation by several large imperialist powers or several multinationals.

Application of the principle of sovereign equality of countries is interesting also in respect to the Antarctic. Since 1908 various countries have laid claim to specific sectors of this continent. The 1 December 1959¹³ Antarctic Treaty establishes new forms of cooperation here between the contracting states. The Antarctic may be used only for peaceful purposes; all measures of a military nature are forbidden. Scientific research is open to all countries. While the treaty is in force (30 years), no new claim and no expansion of a previously asserted claim to territorial sovereignty can be made. Forbidding new territorial claims has the same effect here as excluding claims of ownership.

The contractual regulations in respect to exploration and the use of space or to specific questions of environmental protection are additional examples of new forms which, with the application of the principle of sovereign equality of countries,

organize a kind of peaceful international cooperation which is in accord with the interests of the peoples. The 5 August 1963 agreement prohibiting tests of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water¹⁴ as well as the 1 July 1968 treaty on nonproliferation of nuclear weapons¹⁵ or agreements on zones free of nuclear weapons point a direction which demonstrates the fruitfulness of using these principles in the sector of questions of disarmament, too.

In any case, practical international cooperation shows that the principle of sovereign equality today is utilized and functions not as an obstacle, but rather as an instrument of organizing equal, peaceful international cooperation between different countries.

Equal Economic Cooperation Between Countries

In connection with the sovereign equality of countries and peaceful international cooperation the economic cooperation sector has been playing an increasingly greater role in the past few decades. The system of the capitalist world market thus far has destroyed all the UN's development strategies. With the aid of the free market economy the exploitation by several international multinationals of the wealth and the people in the developing countries is more intensive today than during periods of open colonial dominance. International monopolism endeavors to restrict the function of national governments to guaranteeing the freedom of action of capital, or in any case to establish the function. This contains a genuine threat to the sovereignty of the developing countries and the peoples' right of self-determination.

Thus, for years the developing countries have been trying to define more precisely the concept of peaceful cooperation in the economic sector. In the process, the principle of sovereign equality is clearly utilized in order to ward off the harmful effects of the capitalist world market. This is expressed in a concentrated fashion in the 12 December 1974 Charter on Economic Rights and Duties of countries, which was adopted by the UN General Assembly,¹⁶ this was expressed in the demand for the creation of a new international economic order.

It seems to me that many studies by bourgeois specialists in international law, who concern themselves with the legal character of this charter, miss the basic question. It consists in the fact that in the universal sector, for the first time, means relating to international law are being used in order to classify economic cooperation with the principles of peoples having equal rights and the sovereign equality of countries. The problem is less one of how much legal obligation is due to the individual determinations of the Charter on Economic Rights and Duties of countries; in general it is not meant to do away with conflicting rules. Rather, the problem is more one of to what extent the peoples are in a position to implement more equitable principles of order for economic cooperation against the real power of international monopolism.

Respect of private ownership of production means and respecting freedom of action for multinational monopolies are, of course, not universal rules of international law. The attempt to pass off such rules as a binding basis for international economic relations is directed against the peoples' right of self-determination and the principle of sovereign equality of countries. Thus, it is not by chance that such attempts are linked with conceptions to restrict the sovereignty of countries, to put countries and monopolies in international relations on one level, to develop a transnational law independent of the legal system of the countries, to restrict respect for foreign acts of sovereignty and to remove foreign investments from the

jurisdiction of the receiving country. All that is countered in the Charter on Economic Rights and Duties by a conception, based on the principles of international law, of an international economic order which is oriented toward cooperation and which stimulates the development of universal rules for international economic cooperation with respect for peoples' right of self-determination.

In this connection the principle of sovereignty over natural resources occupies a central place.¹⁸ Today it is no longer restricted at all to questions of nationalization, but rather embraces questions of economic policy in general, and in particular questions of foreign investment and the control of the activity of transnational monopolies.

In Article 2 of the Charter on Economic Rights and Duties, following the declaration of the basic principle that every country has full and permanent sovereignty over its entire wealth, its natural resources and its economic activity, three aspects of sovereignty over natural resources are stressed:

1. The right of every country to regulate and control foreign investment in its national territory in accordance with its laws.
2. The right of every country to control and supervise in its national territory the activity of transnational companies and to take the measures necessary to guarantee that their activity is in harmony with its laws and its national economic policy.
3. The right of every country to nationalize foreign property and to control questions of compensation according to its right and in the event of a dispute to decide it through its courts.

Quite rightly in this, as a basic condition for realizing sovereignty over natural resources, there is repeated reference to national legal sovereignty, to respecting sovereignty. Directly opposed to this are imperialist theories and practices which subject to review by foreign courts or arbitration courts foreign acts of sovereignty that arise when exercising national sovereignty over natural resources, or which respect national legislation only to the extent that they agree with alleged principles of international law--principles which are derived from the practice of capitalist countries. An example of this is the convention on the World Bank in respect to the settlement of investment disputes¹⁹ or the arbitration award by Dupuy in the Libyan-American petroleum dispute.²⁰ As long as capitalist industrial countries and their arbitration courts maintain that acts of nationalization without prompt, adequate and effective compensation are contrary to international law, national sovereignty over natural resources is thus subordinated to the laws of the free market economy, that is, it is virtually abolished. Transferring such principles of bourgeois laws governing aliens to current international law openly contradicts the principle of sovereign equality and would mean perpetuating economic exploitation by former colonial powers.

Sovereign Equality of Countries and Responsibility in Respect to International Law

Implementing the principle of sovereign equality as an organizational principle of peaceful international cooperation between countries with different social orders also produces interesting changes in the sector of responsibility relating to international law. This concerns the development of international crimes, doing away with pleas for immunity in the case of war crimes and crimes against humanity

(including the crime of apartheid) and also the expansion and concrete organization of the principle that countries are responsible for seeing to it that no activities emanate from their sovereign area which impair the sovereignty or security of other countries. As examples, mention may be made of the responsibility of countries according to the 14 December 1974 definition of aggression and according to the 5 August 1963 treaty prohibiting tests of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, the responsibility of the countries for the recruiting of mercenaries within their sovereign territory and finally the duty of the countries, which is affirmed in Article 30 of the Charter on Economic Rights and Duties of countries, "to guarantee that activities which are implemented in their national territory or under their control do not cause any damage to the environment of other countries or regions outside the boundaries of national jurisdiction."

What we see here is a substantial expansion of the responsibility of countries for acts which are directed against the sovereignty of countries, the peoples' right of self-determination or international security, or which could endanger these. The responsibility of countries in these cases is in practice broadened by the fact that the obligation itself in respect to international law refers to hindering a certain result, no matter whether it is caused by state agencies or private parties.²¹

Such rules serve to implement the principle of sovereign equality. They take on special importance under the conditions of the existence of countries with different social orders. They work against a policy of the imperialist states to remove themselves from obligations relating to international law by referring to the fact that it is a question of actions by private parties, of the exercising of bourgeois freedoms. International law does not guarantee the bourgeois freedoms of the private owner, but rather the peoples' right of self-determination and the sovereign quality of countries. Guaranteeing the mutuality of basic obligations relating to international law is possible only under strict respect of the sovereign equality of countries. This requires the development of protection in respect to the economic arbitrariness of the monopolies.

It is an important task of the socialist science of international law to show in detail how, in positive international law, the principle of sovereign equality of countries fulfills its function as an organizational principle of current international society. In the theoretical analysis this makes it possible to unmask the allegedly modern antisovereignty conceptions of the bourgeois doctrine of international law as belonging totally to the past: as being constantly new attempts to perpetuate the dominance of capital vis-a-vis the peoples' right of self-determination.

FOOTNOTES

1. Compare H. Kroeger, "The People's Right of Self-Determination and The Bourgeois Doctrine of International Law," NEUE JUSTIZ, No 7, 1980, p 290 ff.
2. Compare "International Law. Textbook," Pt 1, Berlin, 1973, pp 54, 164, 183 f.
3. H. Kroeger and others, "Socialist Community of States and International Law," Berlin, 1979, p 105. Compare also B. Graefrath and H. Zapf, "The Dialectic of the International and National Element in Socialist International Relations," NEUE JUSTIZ, No 1, 1973, p 1 ff.

4. Compare for example Article 6, Paragraph 2 of the GDR constitution and Article 30 of the USSR constitution.
5. Compare H. Kroeger and others, "Socialist Community of States and International Law," *ibid* p 105.
6. Compare for example the 7 October 1975 friendship treaties by the GDR with the USSR (GESETZBLATT [Legal Gazette] II, No 11, p 238), with Hungary, dated 24 March 1977 (GBL II, No 10, p 190), with Poland, dated 28 May 1977 (GBL II, No 10, p 199), with Bulgaria, dated 14 September 1977 (GBL II, 1978, No 1, p 2) and with CSSR, dated 3 October 1977 (GBL II, No 1, p 5).
7. "International Law, Documents, Pt 3," Berlin, 1973, p 1,164 ff.
8. Reprinted in: "For Detente and Lasting Peace in Europe," Documents, Berlin, 1979, p 128 ff.
9. Compare B. Graefrath, "Declaration Concerning the Basic Principles of International Law," DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, No 3, 1971, p 476 ff.
10. Compare U. Scheuner, "Solidarity Among Nations As a Fundamental Principle in the Present-day International Community," in "Law in the Service of Peace," Festschrift for E. Menzel, West Berlin, 1975, p 270 ff; G. Langer, "The 'New World Economic Order'--Does It Presuppose a 'New International Law'?" in "Law of International Economy/Foreign Trade Service," Heidelberg, 1977, p 456 ff.
11. GDR GBL II, No 24, 1974, p 466.
12. Compare for example G. Goerner and H. Wuenche, "New International Law of the Sea Must Contribute To International Detente," NEUE JUSTIZ, No 2, 1978, p 50 ff.
13. GDR GBL II, No 4, 1975, p 69.
14. GDR GBL I, No 3, 1964, p 32.
15. GDR GBL I, No 9, 1969, p 52.
16. "UN Balance 1974-1975" (DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, Special No, 1975), p 181 ff. Compare in this connection also K. Becher, "The Charter On Economic Rights and Duties of Countries and the Contribution to Further Organization of Democratic International Law," DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, No 4, 1980, p 77 ff.
17. Compare for example I. Seidl-Hohenveldern, "The Charter on Economic Rights and Duties of Countries," in "Law of the International Economic System," 1975, p 237 ff.; I.G. Todenhoefer, "Growth for All--Plea for an International Social Market Economy," Stuttgart, 1976; Ch. Tomuschat, "The Charter on Economic Rights and Duties of Countries," ZEITSCHRIFT FUER AUSLAENDISCHES OEFFENTLICHES RECHT UND VOELKERRECHT, Stuttgart/West Berlin/Cologne/Mainz, 1976, p 444 ff.; E.U. Petersmann, "International Law and New International Economic System," ARCHIV DES VOELKERRECHTS, 1978, p 17 f.

18. Compare G. Brehme, "Sovereignty of Young National States Over Natural Resources," Berlin, 1967; M. Kemper, "National Control Over Natural Resources and New World Economic System," Berlin, 1976.
19. "Convention on the Settlement of Investment Disputes Between States and Nationals of Other States, 18 March 1965," in "Multinational Conventions and Other Instruments on Arbitration," Rome, 1974, p 115 ff. Compare in this connection also A. Broches, "The Convention on the Settlement of Investment Disputes Between States and Nationals of Other States," RECUEIL DES COURS DE L'ACADEMIE DE DROIT INTERNATIONAL DE LA HAYE, Vol 2, Leiden, 1972, p 330 f.
20. Text in Clunet, Vol 104, 1977, p 350 f. German-language summary by I. Seidl-Hohenveldern in "Law of the International Economic System Foreign Trade Service," 1977, p 502 f.
21. Comprehensively treated by B. Graefrath, "Responsibility of Countries In Respect to International Law--A Important Instrument to Implement International Law," NEUE JUSTIZ, No 6, 1980, p 252 ff (254 f).

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CSO: 2300

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

POPULAR UPSET OVER NEW MINIMUM EXCHANGE RATES REPORTED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 11 Oct 80 p 3

[Article by Karl-Heinz Baum, Berlin: "Friends and Relatives Were Quickly Invited--How Citizens in the GDR Reacted to the New Exchange Rates--No More 'Secret Holidays'"]

[Text] "Bzzzzz..." The busy signal has been sounding since Thursday [9 October] from the telephone receiver in East Berlin whenever the number 849 or 0649 is dialed. These numbers are the area codes for West Berlin and the Federal Republic of Germany. Since the GDR government announced an increase of the minimum exchange rate for travel to East Berlin and the GDR, the telephone wires between East and West have been humming.

Also from West Berlin people rarely succeed in establishing a telephone connection with the eastern part of the city or with places in the GDR on the first try. What is being discussed between East and West can easily be guessed. GDR citizens are asking their friends and relatives to come to visit quickly this weekend, at the old rate in other words, before the new regulation takes effect on Monday [13 October]. Already on Friday morning [10 October] there were waiting lines of 2 hours in the West Berlin visitor office.

The "regulation concerning the implementation of a compulsory minimum exchange of currency" was published on Friday by the GDR dailies on the second page, in text but without commentary. The citizens in the second German state certainly know that they--once again--will be the sufferers from their government's actions. Above all, those citizens who have contacts with West German or western foreigners are affected. It is difficult to say how many there are. According to the Statistical Pocket Book of the GDR, in 1979 approximately 7.6 million residents traveled from nonsocialist states into the GDR. Of these, the majority came from the FRG and from West Berlin, approximately 6 million.

GDR citizens with officially censured western contacts know from experience that an increase of the mandatory exchange will directly affect the quality of their lives. A person forced to fork over more at the border no longer has so much money for gifts (the famous pound of coffee). That was the same 7 years ago when the GDR increased the exchange requirement from the then 5 to 10 marks (for East Berlin visits) and from 10 to 20 marks (for GDR visits).

The figures published by the [FRG] Inner-German Ministry show how much the action taken at that time affected the tourist and visitor traffic. After the GDR had

dropped the rates to 6.50 M and 13 M, the number of visitors took a sharp upward turn: in 1975, 1.2 million FRG citizens and 600,000 more Berliners traveled into the GDR. Also the number of short-stay crossings rose by approximately 130,000.

"My mother lives in West Berlin on a pension," an East Berliner said on Thursday evening, "and she scrimps and saves to buy gifts for our family. If she now must convert 25 marks at each visit, very little remains for us."

The mood in the GDR one day after the announcement of the new measure can be defined as "shock." As the ostensible reason, people cite the SED's fear of a possible repercussion from the Polish events on the GDR. They are starting to fear the effects of detente policy and are trying once more to close the bulkheads. The campaign of the SED press against western visitors has borne little fruit in the past, said one person and recalled that it was also said, "They eat us out of house and home." The GDR press has shot off whole broadsides against "Aunt Frieda from Hamburg" and "Uncle Kurt from Duesseeldorf," who allegedly are spreading their anti-communist and revanchist slogans in the GDR.

"Politically dumb, economically foolish, and psychologically wrong"--to this short formula an East German reduced the action of his government on Friday. It is politically dumb because the GDR's best trading partner, the FRG, is inevitably annoyed. It is economically foolish because the GDR's action will hardly be able to bring in more money. Whatever is taken in additionally in exchange money will be lost again elsewhere. Fewer visitors leave fewer gifts and also considerably less remains for Intershop. After all, the sales in GDR Intershop stores, where western goods can be purchased in a roundabout way with "Forum checks," amount to 700 million marks a year according to the SED general secretary. On the other hand, the GDR proceeds from the mandatory exchange are estimated at only 300 million marks.

The visitors from the west are viewed by the GDR citizens as a kind of "secret western holiday." People hear about trips to distant coasts and participate vicariously in what otherwise they can duplicate only on television or radio, after a fashion. "If they take away our 'secret holiday,' internal demands for more trips to the west and for more freedom of movement will naturally increase," this speaker said to justify his opinion as to why the measure was also psychologically wrong.

It is inconceivable, he continued, that this step was dreamed up by the Politburo alone. Big brother in Moscow, with an eye cocked on Poland, must have helped considerably.

After all it is unusual that on the very day that all GDR citizens could read about the new measure in the press for the first time, the responsible GDR Finance Minister Schmieder was justifying the regulation in an interview with the SED central organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND which had been publicized in advance. Certainly these arguments, which were given in a similar manner to the chief of Bonn's permanent mission, Guenter Gaus, on his visit to the GDR Foreign Ministry, do not clarify anything. If someone, such as Schmieder, speaks of inflationary growth, a doubling or quadrupling (as for the East Berlin visits) is hardly appropriate. The reason the GDR actually needs to introduce a minimum exchange rate is that the second German state, 31 years after its founding, has not managed to launch a convertible currency, as has almost every developing country in the meantime.

The residents of the GDR were agreed about one thing. The step taken by the GDR government can hardly be justified for economic reasons alone. Protection against Polish ideas, carried by western visitors also to the GDR doorstep, once again has first priority. This step will bring no new sympathy to the GDR. But the fear of possibly endangering the state was once again considerably greater than the desire to have a good image internationally, for example at the impending follow-up conference to the Helsinki decisions which begins at the end of this month in Madrid.

One GDR citizen, however, knew how, in spite of the increase of the exchange rates, one could sustain the stream of visitors from the West: "Now we must simply provide valuable gifts for our guests. Of course that means much running around for many days." That is an understandable, spontaneous reaction in human terms, but, considering the supplies and the GDR's strict export regulations, it will only be realized with difficulty.

CSO: 2300

HEGEDUS STRESSES NEED FOR SANCTIONED OPPOSITION IN EAST EUROPE

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 25 Aug 80 pp 102-106

[Interview with former Hungarian Premier Andras Hegedus by Klaus Reinhardt and Inge Cyrus of DER SPIEGEL in Vienna about opposition in the Eastern Bloc: "'I Will Never Be a Communist Party Member Again'"]

[Text] As Hungarian premier, Andras Hegedus in October 1956 requested the Soviets to intervene against his rebellious compatriots. On 28 October of the same year, he fled in a Russian plane to Moscow. There he studied philosophy and Western sociology, particularly Max Weber, at the Academy of Sciences. After returning to Hungary in September 1958, the former Stalinist, as a sociologist and later chief editor of the journal VALOSAG, for some years advocated social reforms and democratic developments in Hungary. Because he had publicly criticized the Soviet invasion of the CSSR, he was reprimanded by the party in 1968, and in 1973 he was definitely expelled from the party. The SPIEGEL interview with Hegedus, aged 58, took place shortly before the big strikes in Poland.

SPIEGEL: Mr Hegedus, in 1956 you were the premier of the Communist Party government which triggered the popular uprising. At that time you were considered a Stalinist. Today you are one of the leading Hungarian dissidents. Is this change due to your knowing better, to the changed world situation or simply to spite?

Hegedus: The change did not take place overnight. It was a long process, lasting from the 1956 October revolution into the 1960's. I did a great deal of thinking.

SPIEGEL: The unusual second career began in 1956 with your flight from Budapest. Why particularly to Moscow?

Hegedus: You see, I judged the situation from the stupid point of view of a person in power. I was convinced that the revolt was a counterrevolution which had to be smashed in the party's interest. Only after I had become an emigre in Moscow were doubts raised in my mind.

SPIEGEL: Because of what?

Hegedus: I began an intensive study of Western sociology.

SPIEGEL: In Moscow, of all places, where there really was no sociology in the mid-1950's?

Hegedus: Where there was none and none was allowed. The Kremlin condemned sociology in no uncertain terms as a "bourgeois science." Nevertheless the library of the Academy of Sciences had the most important sociological books--those by Max Weber, for example. Those I grabbed eagerly, wanting to understand the causes of the revolution with the help of sociology.

SPIEGEL: And did you?

Hegedus: At least I understood that what had happened in Hungary was no counter-revolution, that the rebels were not necessarily to be regarded as enemies of socialism, that there were many workers and many communists among the rebels who had good reason to be dissatisfied. I also realized my own mistakes as premier.

SPIEGEL: Do you mean to say that if Hegedus had not been the Hungarian premier at that time the revolution might not have occurred at all?

Hegedus: That would be simplistic, because what was bad was not only the premier; what was bad was the whole Stalinist regime. Radical political changes should have been made in the restructuring of party and government in July 1956; instead of Rakosi, not Erno Gero but Janos Kadar should have become the head of the party, and instead of me Imre Nagy should have become premier.

Kadar represented the critical trend in the party, and Nagy was the figurehead of the extraparty intellectual opposition. With those two heading the party and government, it probably would have been possible to avoid the revolution. In any case, thanks to Kadar, I found the domestic political situation already fairly stabilized when I returned to Budapest from Moscow in 1958...

SPIEGEL: ...and decided there to stick rather to sociology than to politics.

Hegedus: Not right away. In 1961 I was, after all, already deputy president of the Statistical Office. Such a job is highly political in East Europe. Kadar wanted to make me president of that office and take me back into the government.

SPIEGEL: And you didn't want to?

Hegedus: I told him: No, thanks; I would rather work as a social scientist; let me form a sociological research group. Kadar was very disappointed at the time. He didn't understand me. He thought I was too cowardly to bear the political responsibility together with him.

SPIEGEL: Soon thereafter Kadar was not only disappointed but furious. The entire Sociological Institute you were heading quickly steered a course that was critical of the party. As early as 1964 you had your first difficulties as chief editor of the sociocritical journal VALOSAG. In August 1968, at a party gathering, you protested the invasion by the Warsaw Pact countries of the CSSR--the only one of 200 intellectuals to do so. How did you happen to?

Hegedus: A number of things were going on then. Personally I was dealing primarily with the problem of society's control of bureaucracy. In the process all leftist-oriented movements became suspect in my eyes, regardless of whether it was a question of Trotskyites or one of supporters of the Chinese Counter-revolution.

What is the use, I wondered, smashing the current bureaucracy by means of a revolution--a counterrevolution? It is no use, no use at all, for there develops again a new bureaucracy, and it is bound to be even worse than the old one.

SPIEGEL: Despite all the differences, you were still a party member. Not until 1973, according to our data, were you expelled from the party...

Hegedus: Right.

SPIEGEL: ...following a lecture you delivered in Warsaw. There you stated that socialism existed in Europe now in name only. The Communist Party leadership in Budapest thereupon accused you of revisionism, of ideological deviation.

Hegedus: What I said was a little more complex. I and my colleague Maria Markus criticized in Warsaw the two forms of the really existing socialism--that is, both the East European system of state administration on the Soviet model and the Yugoslav system of self-administration--because each in its way is bureaucratic. We looked for a third possibility, for a new alternative of socialist democratic development.

SPIEGEL: This dream of a more democratic socialism, in accord with human dignity, you have not stopped dreaming to this day. In concrete terms, what does the third model of communism, the Hegedus brand, look like?

Hegedus: It definitely looks different from what it did originally. Initially I thought the initiative for democratic development had to come from above--in other words, from the party leadership. Now I am convinced that the decisive impetus for it must come from below.

SPIEGEL: How is that supposed to come about in a totalitarian system?

Hegedus: By autonomous--that is, independent--organizations coming into being which are not only tolerated but legalized by the communist party. They are to create a public opinion contributing to modernizing the power structure and to causing a gradual dissolution of the bureaucratic structures which are paralyzing economic and political life today.

SPIEGEL: Do you mean interest groups which grow into parties, form an opposition and finally strive for assuming power?

Hegedus: No, that's not what I mean. I don't want to introduce any bourgeois democracy, any multiparty system in East Europe. Look, as far as West Europe is concerned, I wholeheartedly advocate the so-called Eurocommunist way with a multiparty system and a parliament. The East European single-party system would be something awful in West Europe. Just as unsuitable, however, I think, is the idea of introducing the West European multiparty system in East Europe.

The established communist power, of course, would not ever be prepared voluntarily to cede its rule to the opposition once it is demonstrably supported by the majority. That could only end in a catastrophe, and I am definitely opposed to catastrophes.

SPIEGEL: What do you mean by "catastrophe?" The counterrevolution of ill fame?

Hegedus: Civil war--primarily civil war. It might then trigger a war of all nationalists within East Europe. After all, the Croatians are not the only malcontents.

SPIEGEL: To come back to the point of departure, what you have in mind is autonomous organizations which are independent of the party but do not want to become parties in their own right?

Hegedus: Exactly. I want not a party pluralism, but a movement pluralism.

SPIEGEL: It reminds one of the Greens in the Federal Republic, who also want to be a party but at the same time are very much afraid of becoming one.

Hegedus: With us in East Europe the arguments run quite differently. There it would be dangerous to strive for power. For a member of the East European nomenclature, the loss of his power means being flung into nothingness--all privileges gone, the nice apartment gone, as well as the official car and the secretary. He therefore concentrates completely on retaining power. If one wants to dethrone him, one risks a brutal counterblow.

SPIEGEL: Where then are the autonomous organizations to come from which you hope will democratize the regime?

Hegedus: In part they already exist. It is wrong to assume, as one does in the West, that in the East discussions take place at best in fringe groups. Our societies are not dead by any means. Conflicts also reaching the masses occur constantly. At plant assemblies, for instance, workers defend their interests just as vociferously as the managers defend theirs. And because there is no right to strike, you will have migration of labor.

SPIEGEL: The West really is not as poorly informed about the East as you assume. No one regards the Eastern societies as immobile. We know that the Czech underground publishers "Edice petlice" publish much more interesting things than all the official publishers combined. And we know that in Hungary there exists a fairly large tolerated cultural opposition operating in the literary, philosophical and sociological fields.

Hegedus: This is exactly the point I had in view. In Europe today, there are a great many tolerated semioppositionist and oppositionist groups. Nor is the party unhappy about that; it needs certain outlets for popular discontent anyway.

But, as I said, it is a question of a merely tolerated opposition. It must at last be legalized and institutionalized. It must at last be able to depend on this tolerance not turning into persecution tomorrow or the next day.

SPIEGEL: If we have understood you correctly, you demand of the communist regimes in East Europe that they not only tolerate but officially encourage, and thus legalize, a certain pluralism.

Hegedus: Exactly. My thesis is the following. The East European power structure, on the one hand, and the East European opposition, on the other, are confronting a great historical compromise. Those in power have to forgo integrating immediately every movement as they have wanted to in the past. For the first time they will have to permit autonomous organizations legally. At the same time the opposition must limit itself. It has to forgo a priori the traditional political aims--attaining power, even morally questioning the current power. In addition it must also forgo the long-term aim of forming a political party of its own and be satisfied with checking the various institutions of the power structure.

SPIEGEL: Even theoretically such a thing is difficult to imagine, and in practice a great number of hardly solvable questions arise. The most important is this: What is to induce those in power to go in for such a historical compromise? In fact, do they need to do so?

Hegedus: Very much so. I would go so far as to say that basically they have no choice. Unless they go in for the historical compromise, there remain but two somber possibilities. Either there will occur a neo-Stalinism which no one wants, or there will be social convulsions in increasingly quick succession until finally the system collapses completely.

SPIEGEL: For what reason, however, should the opposition be prepared to restrict itself as required? An opposition which declares itself that it does not wish to come to power at the first opportunity surely is ineffective from the very outset. While it can talk about everything, it cannot change anything.

Hegedus: Nevertheless I see no reasonable and feasible way to get out of dictatorship. After all, it is no trivial matter for communist parties now wielding absolute power to agree for the first time that an opposition may exist outside the party. They thus give the citizen the right to his own opinion. That is a giant step forward. It gives rise to pressure of public opinion.

SPIEGEL: And how is the pressure to work upward from below? Can you cite a concrete example?

Hegedus: When I talk of autonomous organizations, I think not so much of marginal groups as primarily of large social groups such as workers, peasants, intellectuals. Nevertheless I can give you an example of even the smallest autonomous organization being able to have an effect. Just take the few critical sociologists in Hungary. They simply brought up three subjects that were taboo long enough for the official side--the press, the movie industry--not to be able to ignore them any longer. First there was the taboo subject of the "second economy"...

SPIEGEL: You mean the problem of the private side economies which often are more important than the state-controlled economy for both the workers and market supply.

Hegedus: Yes. Secondly there was the taboo of discrimination against Gypsies, which we also made a subject for general discussion. Ten years ago it would have been quite unimaginable for a journal to criticize a bus conductor for calling out, "Ladies and gentlemen, there are Gypsies on this bus; watch your wallets." It simply was not permitted to write about racial discrimination in our good socialist society. Today this is being discussed and written about, and movies are being made about it.

The third taboo, finally, tackled by the sociologists concerns poverty. They want to see to it (and in part have already accomplished it) that official cognizance is taken of the fact that poverty exists not only in the evil capitalist system. It also exists where we are. A critical opposition, you see, can react more quickly to social problems than the authorities can.

SPIEGEL: Do you regard sociology--your present work, in other words--as a sort of test stage to see how autonomous organizations operate?

Hegedus: Yes. But I am of course in a privileged, comparatively independent position, for I am already in retirement. My young students, who still work, are far worse off. Their existence still depends on the party's good will.

Thus Zoltan Zsille, for instance, lost his teaching job at the Managers Training Institute because he refused to sign a statement condemning my views. That was in 1974. He has been unemployed since.

SPIEGEL: Let us sum up once more. What you understand by "historical compromise in the East" and what somewhere else you have described as "radical reform" is based on the premise that real socialism, such as we are experiencing in East Europe, is in need of basic reform both in principle and in method, and in fact realizes this itself. Is this a correct interpretation?

Hegedus: Reform must be comprehensive. It is a question not only of economic reforms that can be seen to be necessary but also of social reforms. The prerequisite in each instance is the legitimizing of a deviating view.

SPIEGEL: Loosely after the motto "Let a hundred flowers bloom." Evidently you hope that a more widely informed public and better communication between the base and the top, between the people of the state and the power of the state, can lead to more reasonable politics.

Hegedus: I proceed on the premise that in reality there cannot be such a thing as a harmonious socialist society. If anywhere, it exists only in communist party texts. Wherever different social interests can be expressed, there will be constant struggle. I also proceed on the premise that the diverse autonomous organizations will not be socialist ones [sic]. They will be socialist, ecclesiastical, trade unionist and also nonpolitical, but not antisocialist.

SPIEGEL: The Prague Spring rather proved the opposite. But let us assume, contrary to all experience, that the autonomous organizations would let themselves be guided by indefensible socialist values into the far future. Would it then not make more sense to modernize socialism from within, in the communist party?

Hegedus: First off, that sounds highly logical. But, as is known, the party likes to argue that an external opposition is superfluous because there exists an internal opposition anyway. And in fact it does exist...

SPIEGEL: As a marginal group in the party without any real influence...

Hegedus: I do not see the power structure as homogeneous. I know of a large number of progressive elements in that power structure, but they are impotent without external pressure. They cannot prevail against the party's orthodox and dogmatic elements until the nonintegrated oppositionists help them to do so. I therefore adhere to my view that autonomous groups are indispensable.

SPIEGEL: But do you seriously believe that those in power in East Europe would be prepared to play along with such risky example of democratization? And surely you will not lure the population into the open with improved ideology and social reforms. Whoever rejects socialism, for whatever reason, withdraws into private life and wants to be left in peace.

Hegedus: Precisely this flight into private life surely shows how sick the socialist system is. In our countries there are only two alternatives as far as public activity is concerned. One can serve those in power or, to the extent that one risks heavy repression, one can be critical and advocate reforms. If one wants neither one nor the other (and, understandably, that is the case with most people) one can only retire into private life. Only if you know that you really can change something, will you get involved.

SPIEGEL: For the time being, this is no more than a hope. Moreover, the dissidents in Prague, Warsaw and Budapest are children once burned. Their distrust of state promises is profound and, as we know, not unfounded. Who guarantees them that in the long run the state power, particularly in crisis situations, will also keep to the historical compromise, that whoever takes the floor in good faith today will not be condemned as an enemy of the state tomorrow?

Hegedus: No one could guarantee this in the present situation. None of us knows what will happen. After the institutionalization of independent movements demanded by me, the individual will be protected more or less, however. The state power will then find that its hands are tied. You see, by persecuting a critic of the system it would invalidate the whole system.

SPIEGEL: Further, who guarantees to the state power, in turn, that the autonomous groups will stick to the rules of self-limitation--in other words, will never want to try to seize power?

Hegedus: Only the power itself can guarantee that. It simply must behave in such a way that the desire for its being relived does not awaken anywhere among the people.

SPIEGEL: What political position do you see for yourself in such a reformed communism in the future?

Hegedus: None. As a politician, as I see things now, I died as early as October 1956. My present role is that of a critic of society. I want to be free to express my views.

SPIEGEL: As a model for others?

Hegedus: I want to behave in such a way as also to give others the courage to think. For, you see, a dreadful disease is spreading in East Europe: even those intellectuals who actually are not threatened by any danger forgo thinking. They have become accustomed too much to the fact that one must not think about certain questions.

SPIEGEL: Can you imagine a social development in which you at least would want to become a party member again?

Hegedus: No, that is 100 percent out of the question. After what I have experienced I could never be a communist party member again. I never again want to subject my own thinking to the thinking methods of the party.

SPIEGEL: Thank you for this interview, Mr Hegedus.

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CSO: 2300

SOCIOLOGICAL EDUCATION AT COLLEGE, UNIVERSITY LEVEL SURVEYED

Budapest FELSOKTATASI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 9 Sep 80 pp 533-537

[Article by Pal Peter Toth, research associate at the Lorand Eotvos College of Sciences: "The Teaching of Marxism-Leninism - Instruction of Sociology at Institutions of Higher Education"]

[Text] The teaching of sociology - which has been part of the curriculum at the universities and colleges for some time - has been further expanded in the last one-and-a-half or two years. The objective and subjective requisites of the instruction have been broadened, and there has been more preparatory work for establishing requisites of purport and organization for the development. The MSZMP Central Committee's Agitation and Propaganda Committee, which in the spring of 1977 looked twice at the situation in sociological research and instruction and defined the most important tasks of a further development, played an important role in this process. That definition served as a basis for the analysis, on the basis of which the Committee on Scientific Policy issued a resolution on 3 February, 1978, regarding the state of sociological research and instruction, and the tasks in their development.

Before examining the present situation in the instruction of sociology at the universities and colleges, let us briefly look at what the Agitation and Propaganda Committee emphasized at its 7 June 1977 meeting as the main tasks in the instruction of sociology and the improvement in the training of sociologists.

"As a first step", established the Agitation and Propaganda Committee, "general sociology" must gradually be made compulsory in the law departments of the colleges of sciences, in the colleges of medicine and in the appropriate departments of the humanities. As a second step, this must be accomplished - simultaneously with the development of a faculty cadre - in the technical and agricultural colleges and, finally, in the colleges of education.

"In order to insure the requisites of instruction," stated the Agitation and Propaganda Committee, "the Ministry of Education should work out the program and curriculum of general sociology."

According to this view, "the instruction of special and branch sociology must be gradually introduced or strengthened in the training programs of lawyers, physicians, engineers, economists and agrarian specialists, and the instruction of educational sociology must be expanded and improved in the departments of general education.

"In order to create the conditions for higher-quality instruction, bases and groups must be created at the universities which would be engaged in continuous research - either independently or in cooperation with other research centers.

"Beginning with the 1978-79 academic year, professional training must be re-organized at the Loránd Eötvös College of Sciences, and must be introduced at the Karl Marx College of Economics.

"In order to alleviate the shortage in sociologists, an independent two-year program must be organized under the direction of the sociology department of the Loránd Eötvös College of Sciences, and the extension training of sociologists must be institutionalized.

"All of these tasks must be carried out gradually, and simultaneously with the establishment of objective conditions."

1. The Teaching of Sociology at the Universities and Colleges

In the 1976-77 academic year, general sociology was taught at the law departments of the colleges of sciences of Budapest, Pécs and Szeged, at the Loránd Eötvös College of Sciences, at certain departments of the College of Humanities of the Lajos Kossuth Scientific University, at the Karl Marx College of Economics and at the Pécs College of Medicine.

As a result of the measures taken, general sociology was introduced in the 1978-79 academic year, in addition to the institutions above, at the College of Humanities and College of Sciences of the Attila József Scientific University in the framework of a special program of required electives, at the colleges of medicine of Budapest and Debrecen, at the Budapest Technical University and the College of Heavy Industrial Technology within the framework of a special program. In addition, general sociology was also introduced at the Semmelweis College of Medicine and certain correspondence courses (e.g., adult education, library science, scientific socialism) of the departments of humanities of the Colleges of Sciences of Budapest and Debrecen.

In the institutions above, in addition to the instruction of general sociology, a major in sociology and specialized sociology is also being offered in the framework of a special elective program.

In addition to all of these institutions, sociology is also being taught at the College of Horticulture and the College of Veterinary Medicine in the form of elective courses.

According to the practice of earlier years, special courses in sociology are still being offered mainly in the colleges under the supervision of various departments without basic training in general sociology. The College of Industrial Arts, the College of Theater and Film, the Pécs College of Education, the College of Special Education, and the Veszprém College of Chemistry, for example, have such programs of special sociology.

In order to generalize the teaching of sociology at the colleges and to conduct continuous sociological research to aid instruction of a higher quality, the past one-and-a-half to two years have seen the establishment of centers--in the university towns of Debrecen, Pécs, Szeged--which will make it possible to teach general sociology in the given city's institution of higher learning. Thus, through the concentration of sociologists and the material means in these places, units will be created which have not existed earlier in our country's higher educational structure. In addition to the units above according to plans sociological groups will begin to operate within the framework of the sociology departments or those of Marxism-Leninism at the Technical University of Budapest, the Heavy Industrial Technological College, the College of Chemistry of Veszprém and the Semmelweis College of Medicine.

In spite of the fact that the Ministry of Education has not encouraged instruction of sociology at the colleges because of a shortage of trained sociologists, there has been a certain progress. For while only the Hungarian College of Physical Education offered college-level instruction of general sociology, which since then has gained the status of a university level institution. It was offered at the colleges of education of Szeged and Szombathely and at the department of adult education of the College of Education of Nyíregyháza in the academic year 1978-79 in the form of a special required elective program. In addition to the above, instruction in political sociology, based on general sociology, has been introduced at the College of State Administration.

Under limited subjective and objective conditions, the organization of the instruction of general sociology will probably be made difficult by the fact that the students at present have a compulsory class load of 33-38 hours. In my opinion, the number of classes cannot be increased. Instead, the present class load must be examined.

The college text entitled "Sociology" will be very helpful in teaching sociology. The synopsis of the planned curriculum was discussed by the Sociology Committee of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the Special Committee of Sociology of the Ministry of Education; it is expected that it will be available for faculty and students in the 1980-81 academic year. In addition to the unified material, college texts of political and legal sociology, instructional and educational sociology, cultural sociology, social psychology, factory and industrial sociology, organizational sociology and sociological methods will also be written in the next 2 years.

There were, of course, certain texts and collection of lectures in the earlier years as well; indeed, even in the last 2 years, two lecture-collections and two texts were published ("Basic Political Sociology" for students of the College of State Administration, and "Introduction to Medical Sociology").

2. The Training of Sociologists

According to the view of the Agitation and Propaganda Committee and the resolution of the Committee on Scientific Policy, the training of sociologists must be accomplished through the cooperation of the Loránd Eötvös College of Sciences and the Karl Marx College of Economics. The details must be jointly worked out by the heads of the two colleges or the heads of the special departments concerned.

Training in sociology has been resumed at the Loránd Eötvös College of Sciences in the academic year 1979-80 at the daytime B division. The curriculum has been modernized on the basis of the recommendation of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences' and the Ministry of Education's special committees.

The department also made recommendations for up-dating the content of the supplementary evening sociology program. Accordingly, beginning with September, 1978, instruction at the supplementary evening program was based on this modified program.

To improve sociological training, the number of faculty and research associates was increased in 1978 at the Department of Sociology. Through the improvement of the subjective conditions, the objective conditions also improved, but there was no significant change: even today, problems of space and a lack of equipment hinder instruction and research. It was necessary to establish this, partly because, despite adverse circumstances, the department's research activity plays an important part in our sociological research and, at the same time, it is a fundamental requisite for efficient training.

Of the department's extensive research activity, the following areas must be especially emphasized: the study of jurists, the study of medical doctors, and studies dealing with the new post-war organizations of intellectuals, national consciousness and value systems, the social life of the small-town intelligentsia, the system of higher education etc.

The department's book and periodical library was in the last one or two years also significantly expanded simultaneously with the improvement of the objective conditions. In order to process the traditions of Hungarian sociology, the collection of personal documents of Hungarian history of sociology was started on the one hand, and, on the other, a volume of studies on the pre-1945 history of Hungarian sociology will be published in collaboration with the Kossuth Publishing House.

The Karl Marx College of Economics is another important Center for the instruction and training in sociology. The instruction of sociology at the college, and the state and activity of the Socio-Economic Research Team were scrutinized already in 1977 by the Ministry of Education's Special Committee on Sociology and the college and department councils of the Karl Marx College of Economics. As a result of the above conferences, there was a significant change in the curriculum beginning with the 1977-78 academic year, e.g., general sociology is being taught as a compulsory subject in the 2nd semester of the 3rd year for almost 500 students, and there are lectures about certain questions of economic sociology in the 1st semester of the 4th year.

Falling into line with the general structure of university education, there is special training, within the framework of the so-called alternative block, for students interested in sociology. The alternative section [blokk] in sociology, for example, was chosen by 20 students in both the 1977-78 and 1978-79 academic years. And for those students who want to write their theses in sociology, the Research Team offers special seminars. In addition to all of these, general sociology has been introduced - beginning with the 1979-80 academic year - for students in the evening, correspondence and supplementary courses as well making a total of about 500 students.

3. A Two-year Course in Sociology

On the basis of the resolution of the Committee on Scientific Policy, an independent two-year program was started by the faculty and research associates of the Department of Sociology of the Loránd Eötvös College of Sciences, with the latter's supervision. This program is offered to those who do not have any training in sociology. It is a high-quality program, based on the active participation of the students. It must be emphasized that, instead of listening to lectures, the students conduct specific sociological research (studies of kindergartens) with the guidance of the faculty.

It can be said on the basis of experience that the program plays an important role in temporarily alleviating the shortage in sociologists and in training qualified sociologists who will take part in teaching and research.

But since this program can only moderate the shortage of sociologists that exist in the area of higher education, an additional independent two-year program should be started in the area of higher education (mainly in agrarian and teacher training) based on the practical demands of research and the individual special portfolios.

According to the resolution in force, the continuing education of trained sociologists must also be organized by the Department of Sociology of the Loránd Eötvös College of Sciences. But since the training and continued training of instructors of sociology, and the establishment and further development of the contents and methodology of instruction in sociology that is to be introduced at the institutions of higher learning, are beyond the tasks related to the general and sociological training in the humanities, it has become necessary for the department to give an appropriate internal structure to its future tasks which is in harmony with its functions. This will be carried out under the name of Laboratory and Continuing Training Center of the Department of Sociology.

On the basis of the experiences gained in the last one-and-a-half or two years, I think it can be clearly stated that the MSZMP Central Committee's Agitation and Propaganda Committee's view and resolution on the state and development of the instruction in sociology has played and does play an important role in the establishment of instruction in sociology and the further improvement of the training of sociologists, having created an appropriate basis for the expansion of our professional training of sociologists and the teaching of general sociology.

9414

CSO: 2500

POLAND

NEW SOCIAL CONTROL COMMITTEES SET WORK PROGRAMS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Aug 80 pp 1,2

[Article by J.M.: "Social Control Initiates Activities--Focus on Economic Problems and Vital Questions"]

[Text] New WKKS [Voivodship Social Control Committees] were appointed at the meetings of the Voivodship People's Council in May and June of this year. Their teams consisting of 40 to 65 individuals are composed of experienced local activists--representatives of various centers and plants, workers of large industrial enterprises, members of social organizations and self-government, and councillors.

By appointing the WKKS national councils outlines also the program for their activities linked with the initial experience of the committees during the preceding term. The word "initial experience" is used because the control committees which have been operating in national councils for barely 2 years fulfilled--in accordance with the law--the role of organs coordinating and inspiring the activity of other links of social control in our communities. Although such committees have already had many accomplishments, they continue their search for more effective methods of work.

In the first weeks of the term the new WKKS differed in the scope of their activities. A review of their operational programs may confirm that the committees are focusing their interest on matters of considerable importance, whether in terms of quality of the management or of conditions of the people's life.

Subjects Derived From Life

The WKKS in Zielona Gora, for example, is interested in the quality of housing delivered for occupation, labor discipline in plants, principles guiding price-setting of consumer goods, etc. The WKKS in Bialystok is concerned with--among other things--establishment of shopping centers in villages as well as with the condition of services to the village population and the quality of maintenance of residential housing. The committee also examines complaints addressed to housing cooperatives.

The WKKS in Baileko Biala intends this year to assess exploitation of secondary raw materials, the situation of agricultural land protection, the conditions of animal shelters in purchasing centers, etc. Independently from the program, numerous complaints reported by residents have already been investigated (price control of fruits and vegetables, verification of reports about waste of construction materials, and so on).

As a rule, the WKKS appeal to various links of social control for investigation of selected cases, while others assess competent control links in terms of efficiency and activity, and submit proposals to them. They organized their own control less than 2 years ago. The committees are trying to stimulate other social control organs to do more efficient work. In the voivodship of Zielona Gora, for example, the quality of housing is controlled by the forces of the NOT [Chief Technical Organization] voivodship department and by the residents' self-government. Labor discipline is observed by trade union control and by the ZUS [Social Insurance Institution]. An analysis will be presented at a WKKS meeting.

At the beginning of the term the WKKS in Legnica held a coordinating conference with representatives of all links of social control and trade union control, at which directives for operations and forms of cooperation were stipulated. As early as in May of this year the control committee, in cooperation with the Commission on Agricultural Production and Food Economy of the Voivodship People's Council, reviewed the distribution and production of fodder in the voivodship. Furthermore, control teams began checking whether housing units transferred to the use of workplaces had been allocated in conformity with regulations.

Popularization of Achievements

The WKKS in Legnica has continued some of the programs from the previous term. For instance, the autumn review of the implementation of regulations on reforms of operations in communications was an issue which received lively comments from the residents. Followup of cases under investigation and concern for close ties with our society are essential preconditions for efficient control.

When outlining their social control program, national councils focused on the fact that our society has not been adequately informed about the activities of the committees, which cuts down the rate of signals coming from the people, and thus, also the opportunity for the KKS [Social Control Committee] to react to various irregularities. Therefore, the achievements of the KKS must be popularized in various ways. In view of the advantages of such advertising the most active committees are trying to inform the public about their activities as much as possible. The source of their success in fact is that they proceed in their activities not only according to a set program, but also in response to every specific social signal.

9004

CSO: 2600

'LE MONDE' VIEWS POLISH TU'S 'VICTORY,' EAST BLOC CONCERN

LD121331 Paris LE MONDE in French 12 Nov 80 p 1

[Editorial: "The Polish Trade Unionists' Victory"]

[Text] The Warsaw Supreme Court has finally recognized a fact: the solidarity trade union exists and the rules it submitted to the court responsible for registering them were in keeping with the law. Therefore the judges should not have "amended" the text submitted to them on 24 October. This 10 November is a historic date in socialist Poland's history: the birth of a big independent trade union. In the short term the supreme court's decision makes it possible to avoid a trial of strength which would have fearful consequences in a country whose economy has been exhausted. Nobody would dare to suggest that it puts an end to the crisis.

The latest developments in the conflict could appear to be the result of a blunder. However, in altering the text submitted to it on its own initiative the court was not unaware that it would be angering millions of trade unionists. Did the party leaders, who directed the court's action, not wish to humiliate the militant workers who had become daunting partners? Were they not trying to cause disturbances in order to impose their authority?

It is a fact that the Polish United Workers' Party is deeply divided, even in its leadership. How else can the events of the past few weeks be explained? Of course Mr Kania said that the reform process is irreversible. He stated that it is necessary to adapt to the existence of the independent trade unions since that is what a large section of the working class wants.

However there is reason to wonder whether these repeated assurances reflect a real desire to radically change an exhausted regime or whether they are merely given to appease the crowd, get it back to work and win the necessary respite for resuming control without any trouble. However, even if the first secretary's desire for reform is genuine, a section of the apparatus and the leadership is rejecting the development. In the enterprises cadres have attempted to intimidate the workers who joined the independent trade unions. At the highest level some leaders are dreaming of smashing solidarity and bringing the dissidents back into line. They have lost the battle in the supreme court. Does that mean they will abandon hope of restoring the traditional order?

In the face of a party which is a prey to doubt, there is now a trade union which has been swept to victory but which is naturally crossed by various currents of

thought. The trade union's founders have accepted compromises in order to obtain official recognition and to prevent the government from losing face. Mr Walesa also thinks that the right to strike must be used with caution. Some of his friends, especially in Gdansk, are already criticizing him for having given way too much to the "other side." Will he always be able to hold back a frequently impatient grass roots which has in places regarded as defeat what is, after all, a success: the supreme courts' decision? The Polish workers are not obtaining everything they want and many wage demands, however justified, cannot be met in the present situation. At least they now have a means of making their voices heard.

It is precisely that which is worrying other communist states. Although the Soviets are continuing to say that it is up to the Poles and them alone to solve their problems, the Czechoslovak and East German leaders are now showing the same restraint. For instance, a few hours before the supreme court's ruling, Czechoslovak communist party organ RUDE PRAVO wrote that solidarity was giving the government orders. The newspaper added that this crisis could "have repercussions at international level." How can anybody fail to see such remarks as a threat?

CSO: 3100

POLAND

BRIEFS

INDEPENDENT TRADE UNION REGISTRATION--Warsaw, October 24 (XINHUA)--The Court of Warsaw Province, Poland, announced that the registration of the Independent and Self-Governing "Solidarity" Trade Union headquartered in Gdansk was approved by the court at local time 15:00 P.M. today after a five-hour debate. After the announcement, Lech Walesa, leader of the union, declared that the trade union fully agreed to principles of the constitution and the Gdansk agreement, and had no rejection of the leadership of the party. But he proclaimed that the trade union is a non-political organization refusing the control by any political force. [Text] [OW250140 Beijing XINHUA in English 0122 GMT 25 Oct 80]

INDEPENDENT STUDENT ASSOCIATION--Warsaw, October 26 (XINHUA)--A new Independent Association of Polish Students has been established here recently which will co-exist with the Socialist Union of Polish Students [SZSP] like the two parallel trade union movements. A communique of the Founding Committee of the Independent Students' Association said that the Warsaw provincial court has approved its registration submitted on October 20. A meeting attended by representatives from 59 universities and colleges all over the country held here earlier decided to form an eleven-member founding committee for the Independent Association. The communique voices the association's solidarity with the independent trade union movement. The 500,000 Polish students are facing a choice between the two students' organizations. [Text] [OW270741 Beijing XINHUA in English 0710 GMT 27 Oct 80]

RAILWAY WORKERS HUNGER STRIKE--Warsaw, October 27 (XINHUA)--Railway workers in Wroclaw, Poland, ended their hunger strike today after signing an agreement with the government on wage increases. According to PAP reports, the hunger strike was started by 34 railroaders on October 21 after the authorities refused to consider their demand for higher pay. Yesterday when the hunger strike entered the sixth day, vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, Alexander Kopec, met with a delegation of the preparatory committee for the establishment of an Independent and Self-Governing Trade Union in Wroclaw area. At the same time, a working team headed by Janusz Obodowski, vice-minister of wages, labour and social affairs, was sent to the rolling stock plant in Wroclaw. In the negotiations, the government made compromises and agreed to the workers' demand on a wage hike. Thus, the workers stopped their strike. [Text] [OW271839 Beijing XINHUA in English 1833 GMT 27 Oct 80]

NEW DEPUTY DEFENSE MINISTER—Warsaw, 11 Oct (PAP)--At the motion of the minister of national defence, the chairman of the Council of Ministers appointed head of the Polish Army Main Political Board, Division General, Dr. Jozef Baryla to the post of vice-minister of national defence. Jozef Baryla was born in 1924 to a worker's family at Zawiercie. He joined the Polish Army in 1945. He graduated from the officer's artillery school and the military political academy where he received his M.A. and next doctor's degree in the humanities. During the many years of service in the army he filled many responsible posts in the army political apparatus: he was first deputy chief of the Polish Army Main Political Board, and, as from May, 1980, its head. [Text] [LD120838 Warsaw PAP in English 2011 GMT 11 Oct 80]

U.S. NUCLEAR STRATEGY ATTACKED—Warsaw, 16 Oct (PAP)--The Polish Army paper ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI today strongly came out against President Carter's Directive-59 and denounced the false concepts of the U.S. new nuclear strategy against the background of its detailed analysis. In fact, the paper concluded, the idea of this strategy is to camouflage the scope of potential losses wrought by a "limited" war. It only makes nuclear war to be more acceptable and gives grounds for an unusual adventurist philosophy, namely that this war is not only possible but also that one can win it. Such idea of war only makes the picture of it look less bleak and tries to justify the tendencies for conducting it. The paper added that it is definitely the strategy of a first strike capability and as such an aggressive one that only intensifies the threat of the outbreak of a nuclear war. "Directive-59 and the armaments resulting from it are not in the least-- according to suggestions by the Pentagon--an answer to the Soviet Union's military build up. So far, all the technical novelties in the military area come from the U.S. and it is the United States that has shelved the SALT II treaty and rejected numerous proposals designed to curb the threat of nuclear war." "It is possible that in the near future the tension in Soviet-American relations will be alleviated thus creating a better climate for agreements and Directive-59 will be altered." [Text] [LD161456 Warsaw PAP in English 1400 GMT 16 Oct 80]

'LITERATURA' ON POWER ABUSE--We are of an opinion that all of the nonagricultural possessions, villas, permanent and seasonal homes which were built or acquired illegally and of which the financial and material bases originate from an abuse of power or from corruption should be turned over for public use. Wherever it is possible and essential, they should, without delay, be converted into nurseries, kindergartens, retirement homes, libraries, houses of culture, holiday camps and recreation centers. This concerns the entire administrative structure, from the gmina [rural parish] to the capital city. This is demanded by social justice, which is the foundation of our political system; this is demanded by social needs, which are severely neglected in these areas. We are requesting all newspapers, periodicals, mass communication media, trade unions, social organizations and creative and public service associations to support our appeal. We are requesting the Presidium of the Council of Ministers to issue appropriate decrees and the Presidium of the Supreme Chamber of Control to insure the implementation of the basic social interest. [signed] The staff of LITERATURA. [Text] [Warsaw LITERATURA in Polish No 43, 23 Oct 80 p 2]

'JUDASES,' 'VISITORS AVID FOR PROFIT' CONDEMNED BY CULTURAL WEEKLY

Bucharest SPTAMINA in Romanian 5 Sep 80 p 1

[Editorial article: "Ideals"]

[Excerpts] In all times and in all their temporarily separated provinces, the Romanians have had, in addition to a unitary specific character and an acute sense of their common history, a national ideal. We can even say that when the cruelties of life were most severe, we wrapped our hearts all the more in the tricolor cloth of the ideal and we embodied all the more, in the cathedral of our hearts, the Missa Solemnis of belief in success. Our illustrious scholars, just as the anonymous brilliant creators of folklore, have left deeply disturbing testimonies in this area. And the time is not far away when they will all be seeing, once again, the light of paradise of publication. We are making a plea here, especially for the younger generation which is most desirous of culture and historic truth, for putting into circulation again the sacred texts of our civilization, grouped together in a collection which might be entitled "Biblioteca nationala" [National Library]: the political works of Eminescu, the speeches of Simion Barnutiu, I. C. Bratianu, Vasile Boerescu, Take Ionescu, Vasile Goldis, Iuliu Maniu, Armand Calinescu, the entire historical works of Nicolae Iorga, the politicological system of Aurel C. Popovici, the trilogy of values of Lucian Blaga and many, many others. They are incomparable treasures of our heritage and even if the authors of some of these works were tributaries of errors and excesses, their works remain fundamental and are goods which have been gained, sources of an eternally alive spirit of the awareness of the Romanian character everywhere. We have the good fortune to live today closely united under the scepter of an exceptional political doctrine. It governs us and animates us; it fills our hearts with civic pride and obligates us. It obligates us to be at the summit of the ancient ideals which it is carrying on, to work with all for the prospering of the fatherland, to defend and to raise to superior heights all that has been achieved up to now with so much sacrifice. This is the Romanian line and we will never renounce it.

Of course, we are not obliged to give an accounting to anyone for what we do; we are free, of a majority and masters in our country, the historic choice of a Romanian type of communism has been made and assumed by millions of loyal sons of this country. But, to those who still accuse us we will say that if loving your country above everything else means nationalism then we are nationalists. Or we will respond with a profound thought from the great tribune, Aurel C.

Popovici: "Nationalism means concern in the present so that the future of the nationality will not be endangered" and, further on: "The culture of a people is its cult for national ideals." This is it; there is nothing more. Anyone who sees in our orientation any more than that does so on his own accord. We, the cultural figures of Romania during these heroic years, love the Communist Party not only for the new vision and fresh spirit which it has enthroned in the overall evolution of Romanian society, for the electrifying pace at which everything began to get better, to move toward quality and optimization but also, in equal measure, for its truly revolutionary courage in understanding that a nation can be built only by people of the area who have lived here for hundreds and thousands of years and who do not leave the work front when the going gets tough. The party knows this and many other things and this represents the basis of its cadre policy. It knows, for example, that those who perform patriotic deeds should receive the highest honors and, as the chronicle writer said, the honors should not go to those visitors who are avid for profit, the masters of a democratic tarantella, clothed in their foul-smelling tartan, buffoons hostile to the interests of this nation, those who jingle the spurs of their arrogance and mix some with their swindling patriotism. We do not need lazy prophets, Judases who do not have the dimensions of the Romanian sacrifice in their blood which is so easily bought. As Eminescu said so well: "A floating population cannot represent stability of institutions and cannot represent the deeply rooted sentiment of the idea of the state, of harmony and of national solidarity."

CSO: 2700

COMMISSION SET UP TO CERTIFY AERONAUTICAL PERSONNEL

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 81, 11 Oct 80 pp 7-8

[Presidential Decree Establishing the Commission for the Certification of Aeronautical Personnel in Civil Aviation]

[Text] On the basis of Article 8 of the Statute for Personnel in Civil Aviation of the Socialist Republic of Romania, approved by Council of State Decree No 413/1979, the President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Sole article--The Commission for the Certification of Aeronautical Personnel in the Department of Civil Aviation is established with the following composition:

Chairman--the head of the Department of Civil Aviation;

Members --the deputy in charge of flight in the civil aviation command, in the Department of Civil Aviation;

--the technical deputy of the civil aviation command, in the Department of Civil Aviation;

--the director of the airport directorate in the Department of Civil Aviation;

--the assistant secretary for organizational problems in the political council of the Department of Civil Aviation;

--the commander of the Center for the Instruction of Aeronautical Personnel;

--the chief of the personnel, education and remuneration service in the Department of Civil Aviation;

--the chief of the service for air traffic direction and control and for patents and licenses in the Department of Civil Aviation;

--the chief of the aeronautical technical service in the Department of Civil Aviation;

--the chief of the service for the protection of air navigation and aeronautical telecommunications in the Department of Civil Aviation;

- a piloting inspector in the Department of Civil Aviation;
- a chief legal counselor in the Department of Civil Aviation;
- a master, appointed by the leadership council of the Department of Civil Aviation.

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU
President of the Socialist Republic
of Romania

Bucharest, 6 October 1980
No 250

CSO: 2700

BRIEFS

DATA ON FOREIGN STUDENTS--This year, approximately 21,000 foreign students from 124 countries, the majority of them developing countries, are studying in institutes of higher education in Bucharest, Bacau, Brasov, Iasi, Cluj-Napoca, Craiova, Galati, Petrosani, Ploiesti, Pitesti, Suceava and Timisoara. More than 35 percent of these students are attending the polytechnical institutes, 40 percent are enrolled in medical courses and the rest are enrolled in university, agronomic, economic and artistic education. The students gain practical experience in their field by working in school workshops, microproduction units, pilot stations, large factories and enterprises, laboratories, polyclinics and hospitals, oilfields, and agricultural research stations. Also, the student benefit from university textbooks, scientific treatises and other auxiliary works and libraries equipped with numerous volumes of works and publications which present new developments in different fields of activity. Intensive courses in the Romanian language are organized to help the foreign students to complete their higher education as rapidly as possible. [Excerpt] [Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 6 Nov 80 p 5]

CSO: 2700

SERBIAN PRIEST IN BOSNIA CRITICIZED FOR NATIONALISM

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 6 Nov 80 p 3

[Article by Djuro Kozari "Nationalistic Feast"]

[Text] Article 174 of the SFRY Constitution (the section on freedoms, rights and obligations of citizens) specifies that "the profession of faith shall be free and shall be a person's private affair," but a bit further on it states that it is "un-constitutional to abuse religion and religious activity for political purposes." This position is the basis for relations between society on the one hand and religious communities on the other, relations which on the whole have been very good. Nevertheless, from time to time, either openly or covertly, behind the shield of religious rites an isolated case of behavior will again occur in some church or mosque, rectory, temple or Moslem elementary school that has absolutely nothing in common with religion, but rather strikes at and is aimed against the greatest achievements of the National Liberation War and socialist revolution -- brotherhood and unity.

Outrageous Behavior at a Christening

The most recent example of activity outside the framework of religion, or, to put it more precisely, of sinister activity occurred at Borika, near Rogatica, some days ago. Nedjo Janjic, priest of a Serbian Orthodox church, together with other like-minded persons, who included Momcilo Janjic, Milos Basevic, Milemir Asanja, Milan Planincic, Vojko Neskovic, and members of the church committee along with certain others, abused the religious rite of baptism of his child in the rectory by singing nationalistic songs and by arousing those present to nationalistic euphoria. Shots were fired from a pistol, Great Serbian nationalistic slogans were exclaimed, intolerance toward other nationalities and ethnic minorities was displayed.... In short, it was outrageous behavior in the worst sense of the word. Thus the christening at the home of Pop [Orthodox priest] Janjic turned into an appeal for the Chetnik spirit, for nationalism and for fratricidal hatred.

Our people are quite well aware of what is religious and what is nationalistic, of who is a friend and who an enemy of this country, of its nationalities and its ethnic minorities. Our people still bear the scars of the Chetnik and Ustasha knife. There are also memorials in Partisan cemeteries where the victims of fascist atrocities are buried.

The "christening" in the rectory in Borike did not of course pass without reaction, without unanimous condemnation and scorn. The clergymen in priest's habit or street clothes greatly erred if in their twisted minds they imagined that anyone would support them and join them. Pop Janjic and his band were vigorously condemned in a meeting of the Borike Local Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People and in the six precinct meetings held two nights ago. Honest men, believers and atheists alike, asked themselves: "Can this be possible?" They added: "Who would ever think of appealing to the Chetnik spirit today and of inciting hatred among people when we have built and achieved all the great and wonderful things we have on the basis of brotherhood and unity, socialist community spirit -- our most cherished achievements."

The parish priest Janjic had been well received when he took up his position in Borike. People who profess religious faith thought that this "churchman" was sincerely a man of faith, peace, love among men and among the nationalities and ethnic minorities. But Janjic, whose actions are premeditated and clever, had other "concerns" than religious rites. He used his priest's habit only as a screen for deeds, acts and ideas which are far from God, Orthodoxy and love for man, said the participants in the meetings of the Socialist Alliance we have mentioned. Janjic sought and found "lost souls" similar to himself, poked his nose in everywhere, he sought contacts with young people, even in the schools, where he had support even among some faculty members.

Degenerate Representatives of the Serbian People

Thus instead of the priest's nobility, Janjic openly displayed nationalism in the church and outside it. The believers listened to this and doubtfully shook their heads about what this "holy" person was muttering and saying. And then even a strange song, a nationalistic song, was heard. Older people recognized in those songs: "Sto no Drina..." [What but the Drina...], "Oj, subaro..." [Oh, fur cap of mine ...] and so on, that raving muttering practiced by the Chetniks, degenerate examples of the Serbian people, when marching off to some of their atrocities.

The people of Borike, loyal to their socialist, self-managed society, spoke out that they wanted nothing whatsoever to do with anyone who appealed to that kind of past, nor to display in any manner whatsoever anything at all that could besmirch a freedom won with bloodshed, a freedom that shines like the sun. And they added that no hostile outburst or similar action should be underestimated, regardless where it occurs. In a public place or in someone's home, in a rectory or outside it. They also concluded clearly and explicitly that all nationalism is equally dangerous -- whether it be Serbian, Moslem, Croatian or some other nationalism, regardless of whether it is displayed in a city or rural area, regardless of whether the proponent is a local person or just a passer-by, like our countryman Vojislav Lubarda, who is unceasing in his nationalistic scribbling and preaching of enmity among the nationalities.

The inhabitants of Borike were unanimous in the belief that vigorous resistance should be offered and political measures and legal sanctions undertaken against all those who openly or covertly attack the basic values of our society. In particular, they said, vigorous action should be taken against those who attack the greatest achievements of the revolution -- brotherhood and unity and the socialist community spirit of our nationalities and ethnic minorities.

It is obvious that Pop Nedjo Janjic, whose duty to perform religious services and carry on religious activity conforms to the Constitution and law, has abused religion for political purposes and has inflicted injury on this region and all the members of the Serbian Orthodox Church, insulting their patriotic and religious sentiments.

Unanimous Condemnation

Every one of our well-meaning and honest citizens, be he believer or atheist, knows that our socialist, self-managed society has guaranteed the conditions for free expression of faith and that no one has ever (except the nationalists and separatists) divided up those who are believers and those who are not. All our working people and citizens are equal regardless of ethnic background or religious affiliation, and an attack on the members of one nationality is at the same time an attack on all the others, on brotherhood and unity and on socialist community spirit. The meddling of the clergy in the field of politics has always been dangerous, but also has always been unanimously resisted and condemned and has been called by its right name.

Nor could it be otherwise. That is the error of all who think that cloaked by religious worship they can advance their own judgments and visions, "represent" believers in their relationship with society, equating the religious attribute with the ethnic attribute, appeal for a spirit of enmity, and so on. Their only destiny can be that of Pop Janjic and his band in Borike, since the people know the difference between acting as their broker and performing religious services, and no one can put anything over on them.

Finally, the conclusion of the Borike Local Conference of the SAWP: "With the blood shed by Moslems and Serbs and Croats in the concerted struggle of all the nationalities and ethnic minorities of Yugoslavia we paid dearly for the freedom we won, peace in our homes and on the borders of our country, we achieved equality, we forged indestructible brotherhood and unity, and we will not allow anyone to destroy what has been created, but rather, as Comrade Tito instructed and taught us, we will preserve brotherhood and unity like the apple of our eye.

[Box] The meeting of the Borike Local SAWP Conference on Monday and of its six precinct organizations on Tuesday took up a report on the flagrant chauvinistic outburst of Nedjo Janjic and other citizens in the Borike rectory and unanimously condemned this as a hostile act.

Both believers and atheists participated in the discussion at these gatherings, and from the abundance of opinions we have singled out some which in our judgment best indicate the political disposition of the people of that region.

Rajko Pusonja: "This is a severe blow for us all. There is no place among us for the offenders. We provided a comfortable life for this young priest and the teachers, and that is how they paid us back. There is no place in the school for educationists who have been involved in nationalistic activity. Those are terrible songs and did not come from the head of someone who was drunk, but constitute a deliberate act.... We are conscious of the number of sacrifices we made. Are we to let this priest and a handful of others among us to cast the burning ember which will return us to 1941? No, that we will not allow."

Dragica Lucic: "It hurts me to hear the Chetnik songs sung again here. I don't know what I wouldn't do to such people (sobs)... The Chetniks burned up my two sisters in a shed. They were degenerates, as are those who today remind us of them, 35 years after the end of the war."

Sejdo Poljo: "The most unfortunate part of all this is that certain teachers became implicated. Their sort can't bring up our children.... We made enormous sacrifices for brotherhood and unity, and were we to lose it, we would lose everything. We need to speak frankly about the makeup of mosque and church committees. These boards have assumed more than their rightful authority, and they are concerning themselves with matters that have no connection whatsoever with religion."

Petar Jesic: "Anyone who wants to believe in God and go to church can go right ahead. But anyone who has the intention of sowing dissension in the people and of enflaming enmity will encounter our energetic resistance and condemnation. We are preparing for defense and protection of the country, we have both units and official structure, we are constantly saying that we must recognise the adversaries of our society, while before our very eyes a priest does as he pleases, assembles people and poisons them. They had priests in Borike before him, but never before such a malicious one."

Milos Stanojevic: "I go to church. There are priests and priests. I condemn what the parish priest Janjic did. We don't need a priest like that."

Predrag Balcakovic: "I heard that Tomo Djeric, president of our precinct SAWP organization, attended the christening at Pop Nedjo's, but did nothing to put a stop to the Chetnik songs. He can no longer be our president." (Djeric was therefore unanimously dismissed from his post as president of the precinct organization.)

7045

CSO: 2800

END

END OF

FICHE

DATE FILMED

December 5, 1980

D.S.